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PRESIDENT TITO'S SPEECH AT XV SESSION OF UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY

At the session of the United Nations General Assembly on September 22, the President of the Republic and head of the Yugoslav delegation, Josip Broz Tito, delivered the following speech in the general debate:

Mr. President,

On behalf of the Yugoslav delegation, and in my own name, I wish to congratulate you on your election to the high and responsible function of the President of this important session of the General Assembly.

Mr. President,

Gentlemen,

May I be allowed to express my gratification at having the opportunity to attend the XV Session of the General Assembly here at United Nations Headquarters. The peoples and the Government of Yugoslavia have always attached an exceptional significance to the United Nations as the broadest and most important international organization, whose basic objectives, particularly the maintenance of peace and security in the world,

embody the fundamental aspirations and needs of the international community.

I also wish to express, on behalf of the Yugoslav delegation and in my own name, our satisfaction that the XV Session of the General Assembly is attended by a large number of representatives of new Members of the United Nations, of the African countries that have only recently attained their independence. This increase in membership is of particular significance as it has, in a positive sense, made the structure of United Nations membership more complete; the basic aspirations of the new Members of our Organization are undoubtedly directed towards the consolidation of the independence they have achieved, towards a more rapid internal development, towards a status of equality in the community of nations, and towards a contribution of their own to the preservation of peace and to the stabilization of the world situation. Such

aspirations are fully in accord with the spirit and letter of the Charter of the United Nations.

We hope that the United Nations will achieve real and complete universality in the near future through the attainment of independence of all the peoples now under colonial rule as well as through the recognition of the right of the People's Republic of China to be represented in the United Nations.

TROUBLED INTERNATIONAL ATMOSPHERE AND SPECIAL IMPORTANCE OF THE FIFTEENTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The XV Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations acquires special significance for more than one reason: above all because this Assembly is confronted with highly important and difficult tasks, and because it is taking place in an international atmosphere which causes grave concern, in an atmosphere marked by a revival of the cold war and by complete uncertainty as to where all this may lead in the future. In our opinion, the world has perhaps never at any time since the end of the war gone through such a period of uncertainty as it is going through today. It is for this very reason that we should all see to it that the activities of our Organization and the manner in which they are carried out should always be in keeping with the spirit and the principles of the Charter and with the fundamental rights and sovereignty of each Member State and of non-members as well. Otherwise, such activities would not serve their purpose and might well impair considerably the standing of the United Nations and the trust placed in the Organization.

There is little difficulty, we believe, in tracing the causes of the present situation, a situation which, unless the utmost efforts are made within this international Organization and already at the present Session, might lead the world into a new catastrophe greater than any it has known in the past.

Fifteen years have elapsed since the end of World War II, and no solutions have yet been found to any of the major issues it left in its wake. I shall not attempt to describe here the course of events, but shall merely say what has already been said so many times, that the main reason why none of the major international questions has been solved is to be sought precisely in the fact that a wrong course was embarked upon from the very outset, a course which consisted in seeking to settle outstanding international issues from positions of strength, and one which is still persistently favoured by certain influential circles.

What results has such a course brought to the world? It has led to a growing accumulation of new problems, which are straining more and more an already tense international atmosphere.

The world had placed considerable expectations in the summit meeting in Paris, and the failure of that conference caused profound dis-

appointment, particularly in view of what had preceded its failure and had been one of the main causes of that failure. This has confirmed the conviction of peace-loving peoples that the fate of the world should not be left to the decisions of only a few states, no matter how big, but as the issues involved are of interest to all, they should be decided jointly by countries large and small, and primarily through the United Nations and under its auspices, because it was precisely for this purpose that this international Organization was established. That is why we attach such importance to this XV Session of the United Nations General Assembly.

THE TIME HAS COME FOR CONSTRUCTIVE MEASURES IN INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

We have not come here, of course, to heap more oil upon the fire or to side with any of the extreme attitudes that may reflect present tense international relations. We have come with a desire, above all, to contribute as much as possible to the easing of world tensions and to express our belief that the eleventh hour has struck to embark upon a new constructive course in international relations, upon a course of peaceful solutions of outstanding issues, a course of consolidation and of international cooperation based upon equality, as well as upon peaceful, active coexistence.

We do not delude ourselves that any final solution can be found here and now in the United Nations to the major issues that constitute a permanent threat to world peace. It would, however, we feel, be a major success if the view prevailed at this Session that everything should be done to prevent a further deterioration of the international situation and an aggravation of the cold war atmosphere, that it is essential to secure such a composition and such activities of the United Nations bodies as to ensure the performance of their functions in the most effective manner under the control of the Organization. This has prompted us to work actively in favour of the idea that Heads of States and of Governments should attend this Session personally in order to not only consolidate but to enhance still further the prestige attained by the United Nations.

The responsibility of us all is far greater than could have been visualized fifteen years ago when the United Nations came into being. In the course of these fifteen years we have, on the one hand, witnessed the unprecedentedly rapid and successful advance in the field of natural sciences and technology, and on the other, the increasingly vigorous, broad and active appearance on the stage of world history of the most numerous part of mankind that had hitherto been prevented from participating, on a footing of equality, in shaping its own destiny. However highly we may evaluate the positive contributions of the United Nations so far, we should not be blind to the fact that, under the stress of the political con-

flicts and dissensions of the post-war period, which were reflected within the Organization, the latter has not been able to keep wholly abreast of the march of contemporary history.

There is a growing disparity between the brilliant successes achieved in the endeavour to harness the laws of nature to the service of man, and the deplorable conditions in which the majority of mankind, which still has to struggle for the elementary right to an existence worthy of man, lives. Not only those peoples that still have to fight for their independence, often at the cost of heavy sacrifices in human lives, but also those that have already acceded to statehood still find themselves in practice in a position of inequality as against the highly developed countries.

I

The hopes that were aroused a year ago of a more substantial and more lasting easing of international tension have, unfortunately, failed to materialize.

In contrast to last year's Session, which took place in the atmosphere of Camp David, i.e. of East-West negotiations, this year we are meeting in the shadow of the failure of the summit conference, of the breaking off of the Geneva disarmament talks, and of the continual postponements in achieving the essential agreement on the banning of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons tests; in short, the tendency to increase tensions in East-West relations are growing and there is a revival of the cold war. These dangerous trends in the development of East-West relations are, on their part, creating an atmosphere of increasing mutual distrust.

ARMING THE BUNDESWEHR WITH NUCLEAR WEAPONS WOULD BE FATAL TO THE PROSPECTS OF PEACE

These alarming trends have now also found expression in the recent demand to equip the Bundeswehr with nuclear weapons, a demand which reveals the full gravity of the present international situation and would, if granted, diminish to a decisive degree the prospects of peace in Europe and in the world.

Although our people have, in the recent past, suffered severely at the hands of German militarism and fascism, we harbour no feelings of hatred towards the German people. We are, however, deeply concerned by the revival of militarism in the Federal Republic of Germany. I feel I have, in this connection, to draw your particular attention to the mounting influence of military circles and to the revival of tendencies in Western Germany that ominously recall the past. Such tendencies can, however, only do harm to the genuine interests of the German people and increase tension and uncertainty in the world. On the other hand, those who foster or facilitate such tendencies, for the purpose of advancing

their narrowly conceived interests, assume a heavy responsibility.

In this same period, owing to the policies pursued towards dependent and newly independent countries by the colonial powers, as well as by other powers that support this policy for various reasons, the war in Algeria continues endlessly, and conflicts and crises arise, as in the case of the Congo, of Cuba, Laos and West Irian, and seriously imperil world peace.

We cannot, as Members of the United Nations, reconcile ourselves to such a state of affairs. Regardless of frequently differing views on this or that specific problem, or of a different appraisal of various situations and events, we can, all of us together, or at least a great majority of us, direct our efforts more energetically and more effectively towards a solution of the fundamental questions of our time.

We should not, in the first place, allow mistrust and tension to render impossible a constructive solution of the major issues upon which world peace depends. Foremost among these issues is the problem of disarmament, which has, in our era of technological progress, assumed an exceptionally serious significance.

However, amidst the conditions of a revival of the cold war, it is not the arms race alone which impedes the settlement of other fundamental issues. The unsolved problems of the colonial world and the problem of the attainment of genuine independence and economic progress by new and underdeveloped states also hamper the creation of the necessary international atmosphere for the initiation of disarmament and for cooperation in the spirit of peaceful coexistence.

The level of development reached by mankind and the crucial problems that have accompanied it increase our responsibility, but they augment, at the same time, our capabilities of impelling the course of history in a positive direction. It has frequently been said that the eyes of the world are turned towards this Assembly Hall. Yet we must not forget that outside this hall there are hundreds of millions of people willing to support any constructive action on our part and to make it, through the power of their will and of their numbers, into a new step forward towards peace and a better life for all nations, for the people of all continents.

II

Although the disarmament problem is the greatest among all the problems awaiting solution, I should nevertheless like first to turn my attention to the most acute colonial problem. This is particularly justified in view of the powerful upsurge of national liberation movements in Africa and elsewhere and, more especially, of recent events in the Congo, which do not concern that country alone, but also Africa as a whole and the further development of independent African peoples.

The process of the national, economic, political and cultural emancipation of former colonies is a historical necessity. The liquidation of the obsolete economic, social and national relationships that constitute the essence of colonialism in its various forms makes it possible for numerous new states to emerge as constructive members of, and active factors in the international community. These processes should not, therefore, be impeded; they should rather be approached in a constructive manner and the emergence of newly independent nations should be encouraged, since the ending of various forms of colonial relationships in the modern world is part of the efforts of the whole of mankind to achieve universal peace and progress.

Unfortunately, these processes are still meeting with a lack of understanding and with resistance. Many colonial powers and highly developed countries are unwilling to reconcile themselves to the ineluctable historical trends in Africa and in the other underdeveloped areas. They seek to block these processes in various larger or smaller areas, on the strength of their acquired positions and of their material and other advantages, or to alter their course by various political, economic and military means. Such efforts, doomed as they are by history, and futile in the final analysis, give rise to or aggravate conflicts and crises, such as the persistent continuation of the war in Algeria, the events in South Africa, the recent developments in the Congo, and, in a different context, the tension in Laos, or the situation relating to Cuba, where the people, under the leadership of their revolutionary Government, won their freedom of which they had been deprived for so long, and are now exerting efforts to strengthen their independence on the basis of full equality. All these conflicts shake an already unstable world peace, the more so as they show an almost unavoidable tendency to become entangled with East-West antagonisms and conflicts. These cold war conflicts also threaten on their part to spread to areas which had been or are still under colonial domination, and to transform the newly independent countries into new hotbeds of strife and war dangers.

As an excuse for such outside interference, the alleged incapacity and immaturity of the newly liberated countries and their lack of economic development have been invoked, particularly of late. It cannot, however, possibly be a mere coincidence that, as a rule, the countries that had until recently not been free are also the least developed ones. Although it is a fact that the newly liberated countries encounter numerous difficulties in their development, it is also a fact that these difficulties stem primarily from a long period of colonial rule and that a continuation of colonial relationships could only multiply and increase them.

MARKED MANIFESTATIONS OF COLONIALISM IN THE CONGO

I feel I have, in this connection, to dwell in particular on the situation concerning the Republic of the Congo. The Congo has been the scene of the most typical manifestations of a negative colonial policy, of interference from without for the purpose of safeguarding the narrow interests of those forces and circles which cannot reconcile themselves to the loss of their privileged positions and interests.

The recognition of the independence of the Congo was construed by these circles merely as a façade behind which economic exploitation could be continued and other forms of dependence maintained. When this policy met with the resistance of the legitimate Government of the Republic of the Congo, these circles resorted to various forms of more or less open interference, to the organizing of rebellion, to the secession of individual provinces, to the subversion of the Government and so forth. Belgium, which had ruled the country and which persistently opposed a withdrawal of its troops, undoubtedly bears a particular responsibility for the adverse developments in the Congo. Part of the responsibility is shared by those who have supported or permitted such a course.

The intervention of the United Nations for the preservation of peace was to have secured to the Congo development along such lines as would have safeguarded its independence, its sovereignty and territorial integrity, and as would have been in harmony with the interests of the people of the Congo and the rights of the lawful Government. It is our profound belief, however, that the assistance of the United Nations has not proved to be sufficiently effective, primarily because there have been serious omissions and shortcomings in carrying out the resolutions of the Security Council.

The Government of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia has repeatedly — including its request for the convening of the Security Council of 8 September 1960 — set forth its views on the problem as a whole and has striven for what it considered to be a correct solution. We hope that appropriate ways and means will be found, on the basis, among other things, of the resolution recently adopted by the General Assembly at its Emergency Session, to protect and promote the strivings of the people of the Congo to maintain the independence and unity of their country. At the same time, it is essential that measures of necessary economic and technical assistance to the Congo be continued. The Yugoslav delegation will, for its part, support all measures in keeping with these aims.

UNO'S HUGE TASK: TO ENSURE THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE NEWLY LIBERATED COUNTRIES

The problem of the war in Algeria has been before us for five years now, but no progress towards a satisfactory solution has so far been made. The people of Algeria, who are continuing to make great sacrifices for the attainment of their freedom — thus placing all peoples fighting for peace, independence and equality in their debt — claim their natural and legitimate right to self-determination. This right was recognized by France, in principle, last year. Subsequent negotiations have unfortunately revealed that the French side has not drawn the practical conclusions deriving from the recognition of the right to self-determination. For this reason the conditions for negotiations were, naturally, unacceptable to the representatives of Algeria. Under these circumstances, the Provisional Government of Algeria is seeking a way out of the situation by means of a referendum under United Nations supervision, and we, for our part, can only welcome and support this proposal.

However, the continuation of the war in Algeria also has other, broader implications. If no early democratic solution is found, this will implicitly amount to a legalization of force as a means for suppressing the legitimate aspirations of a people and thus, in fact, a legalizing of war in general.

A specific and extremely dangerous aspect of these profoundly anti-historical tendencies, which are still at work on the African Continent, is the ruthless policy of racial discrimination and oppression pursued by the Government of the Union of South Africa, a policy whose consequences have so tragically come to the fore this year. It is well-nigh incredible that it should be possible to conduct such a policy at the present time, in this latter half of the twentieth century, and in an area where liberation trends are so powerfully at work. This is certainly a problem to which the United Nations must devote an even greater — and more effective — attention than it has done hitherto.

If we probe more deeply into the problem of the liquidation of colonial relationships and analyse it in all its aspects, we shall easily come to the conclusion that the present tendency of the colonial powers to preserve, at all costs, their economic and other positions, even after the attainment of independence particularly by the African countries, is basically detrimental not only to the peoples which have achieved their independence, but also to the peoples of the colonial powers themselves. Such a policy cannot, in the long run, yield any benefits. It can only lead to new conflicts and do harm to both sides. Only relations based on equality between the peoples which have attained their independence and the peoples of the colonial powers can benefit

both sides and can, moreover — and this is their most important feature — make such a policy into a powerful element in the safeguarding of peace and the promotion of constructive international cooperation. The implementation of such an approach to the question of relations between the newly liberated peoples and the peoples of the colonial powers would do away with the basic source of conflict and crisis, and remove the causes of antagonisms between countries in the backward and underdeveloped regions, on the one hand, and highly developed parts of the world, on the other.

The role of the United Nations in all these developments is of the highest significance both in the political and in the economic spheres. The United Nations should act effectively to ensure that the processes of emancipation be speeded up and that they evolve with the least impediment; it should, at the same time, extend all-round and timely assistance to the countries which have set out along the road of independence so as to enable them to consolidate their independence and to give it the maximum substance. So far, the main concern of the United Nations in this respect has been to guide the trust territories towards independence as rapidly as possible and to speed up the evolution of other dependent territories towards independence. Thirty-five territories have achieved their freedom since the establishment of the United Nations, while several territories will attain their independence in the very near future. Twenty-nine formerly dependent territories have been admitted to the United Nations during the period under review. Now, however, our Organization is faced with the tremendous task of providing this new freedom with full political and economic substance.

ECONOMIC WEAKNESS OF CERTAIN COUNTRIES AND AREAS INEVITABLY RESULTS IN ATTEMPTS TO CREATE "SPHERES OF INTEREST"

It is also quite obvious that the question of the final liquidation of colonial relationships is closely connected with the existence of the gap between the underdeveloped countries and the highly developed regions of the world, such as Europe and North America, and that it represents, moreover, one of the main causes of the continued existence and of the extension of this gap. It is from this and from backwardness in its most varied forms, it is from the economic weakness and dependence of certain countries and areas that conditions for interference from outside, for attempts to establish and redistribute "spheres of interest", necessarily arise. All this leads, as we are well aware, to political conflicts and hinders stabilization both in the political and in the economic fields.

In view of the experience so far, and of the fact that the granting of assistance and support is sometimes linked to political and economic conditions, while the granting of assistance on an individual basis is viewed by other states with

the utmost suspicion and raises political problems, it is clear that to channel such assistance primarily through the United Nations is the best and most appropriate course. However, in view of the fact that the material resources of the United Nations are extremely limited due to the reluctance and refusal of wealthy states to place substantial means at the disposal of the United Nations for this purpose, it is clear that the newly liberated and underdeveloped countries cannot, under such conditions, rely solely upon assistance from the United Nations. One has to recognize their right to receive assistance from wherever they can obtain it, provided no political, economic or other conditions are attached.

The measures undertaken by the United Nations so far in this respect have undoubtedly been useful, but have been out of all proportion to the actual needs. If assistance through the

United Nations were to continue on so limited a scale, at so slow a pace and in the manner in which it has been given so far, its effect could hardly be expected to tally with the interests of the consolidation of the countries concerned and of world peace. We should then still be faced with the wholly unwarranted situation where the highly developed countries spend on armaments a sum equal to the total production of the underdeveloped countries, and where one tenth of the production of our planet is being thrown into funds earmarked for destruction and devastation instead of being directed towards the advancement and progress of mankind. One of the most urgent tasks of the present Session of the General Assembly is, therefore, to hasten, extend and render more effective all forms of international assistance and of international financing of the development of underdeveloped countries, primarily through an increase of funds available to the United Nations for the purpose. This, in fact, means that our Organization should now undertake large-scale action for the purpose of providing broad and unselfish assistance to the newly independent countries of Africa, so as to enable them to consolidate their independence and advance vigorously along the path of economic, cultural and general progress.

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**A SPECIMEN COPY WILL
BE SENT ON REQUEST**

**YUGOSLAVIA IS READY TO CONSIDER
THE POSSIBILITY OF INCREASING HER
ASSISTANCE TO THE NEWLY LIBERATED
AFRICAN COUNTRIES AND TO RENOUNCE
A CONSIDERABLE PART OF THE ASSISTANCE
SHE OBTAINS HERSELF**

The problem of the development of underdeveloped countries has assumed a particularly acute form in Africa, where political and colonial relations are most persistently maintained and where they are intertwined with the consequences of economic backwardness, of which the most recent example is the situation in the Congo. The problems of Africa demand the greatest efforts on our part. We consider as fully justified the request that the United Nations take concerted action with a view to technical, financial and economic assistance to the African Continent. I am, therefore, in a position to state here that my country is ready to consider, together with other countries, the possibility of increasing assistance to the newly liberated African countries in the form of experts, materials and funds. My country is, at the same time, prepared to renounce a considerable part of the assistance it has hitherto been receiving through the Technical Assistance Programme of the United Nations in favour of the new African countries.

The concentration of our efforts towards the solution of the problems of Africa should not, however, mean that we intend to neglect the problems of Latin America and Asia, with which we have been confronted for a decade now, and are even today confronted. A solution to the problems of Latin America is to be sought, in

our view, primarily through an accelerated industrialization. The new economic conditions prevailing in the world call for a diversification of national economies. The awareness of the inevitability of this process should impel us to support and not seek to slow it down or impede it as this would be bound to provoke resistance and lead to political tension and conflicts, as shown particularly by the example of Cuba. In any case, we cannot consider as normal a situation where the markets of many Latin American products are placed at the mercy of the so-called free play of world "supply and demand". There is an obvious need for international action in this sphere.

Neither have the economic problems of Asia lost any of their urgency. The progress achieved by many Asian countries in the field of industrialization, provides the best answer to the assertion advanced as recently as ten years ago to the effect that the underdeveloped countries did not have the natural resources and manpower required for industrialization in the modern sense. The Asian countries are successfully mastering the organizational problems of industrialization. They are making tremendous progress in the training of domestic industrial personnel. However, their efforts are greatly hampered by the lack of financial resources.

III

The next important and urgent problem I should like to examine is the question of disarmament.

The importance of disarmament, as one of the key problems of war and peace, is generally recognized. This awareness has not, however, in the attempts made hitherto to solve the problem, been translated into terms of essential practical measures. This has led to a situation where disarmament has assumed a specific role in international relations, a role whose significance is, it seems to me, even more crucial perhaps than has ever been the case before.

Therefore, we have to approach the solution of the problem of disarmament with a sense of extreme urgency. It should constantly be borne in mind that, as time passes, the armament race grows in intensity and that, as a result of this, each new measure of disarmament becomes more difficult and complicated. New and more dangerous types of weapons which are increasingly difficult to control, appear every day; the circle of countries possessing such armaments is expanding. Therefore, it is erroneous to speak, with regard to disarmament, of the continuation of the arms race; actually, this race is constantly gaining in speed, scope and intensity.

There are many ways of illustrating the absurd proportions assumed by the ever more intense armaments race as well as the extent of its negative consequences for mankind, but it is not my intention to do it here. The fact that the cost

of a single B 70 super-bomber is equal to the total assistance extended through the United Nations for the development of underdeveloped countries in the course of one year points clearly to the urgent need of abandoning the course now being pursued.

ALL PRE-CONDITIONS FOR THE BAN ON EXPERIMENTS WITH NUCLEAR WEAPONS ARE MATURED

As a concrete example, of a measure that we favour and which is essential to all, I shall mention the unwarranted delay in the reaching of an agreement for which all the objective pre-conditions have matured and which is demanded by public opinion throughout the world. I am referring to the prohibition of nuclear weapons tests. We believe that there are no longer any real obstacles in this respect, provided the great powers could reach a political understanding to conclude the negotiations, which have already lasted approximately two years, and come to an agreement, to which all countries should adhere.

This and any other genuine progress in the field of disarmament would have a favourable effect on international relations and would contribute considerably to their improvement. In the same way, any improvement in international relations, any progress in solving outstanding international issues — an aim towards which we should persistently strive — would have a favourable bearing on the solution of the disarmament problem. It follows, therefore, that the inter-dependence between the state of international relations and the situation in the field of disarmament is absolutely clear and direct. There is obviously no need to try to find out where to start, as it is obvious that the greatest efforts should be exerted in both directions.

It would be a mistake to believe that, in the unfolding of the process of international disarmament, everything would remain as it was before — the cold war, the war preparations and the rest. The vicious circle would be broken and international relations would enter a new era. In fact, disarmament, if viewed in a sufficiently broad perspective, is a specific form of changing the world in a positive sense, as well as of relations therein. An ability to grasp this is, therefore, also required, as well as a readiness to place international relations upon a new basis.

This means that it is necessary, in order to make progress, to change certain established concepts and approaches, to abandon certain aims which obviously cannot be attained without war, to turn for the solution of international questions towards genuine peaceful coexistence among countries with different social-political systems.

Mr. President,

The present so-called balance of armaments has reached so high and dangerous a level of military techniques and equipment that it is

losing its *raison d'être* to an increasing degree every day. This balance does not ensure security, as the protagonists of a certain policy want to make us believe. On the contrary, it is being transformed into a state of complete insecurity and presents a permanent mortal danger for mankind.

In order to create conditions in which the efforts for the attainment of disarmament might prove successful, it is obviously essential — as I have already said — to create a minimum of favourable atmosphere and an indispensable degree of mutual confidence. Unfortunately, an opposite course has too often been followed in the past.

For instance, it cannot be assumed that it is possible, at one and the same time, successfully to negotiate and to violate the sovereignty and national frontiers of the negotiating partners regardless of the motives invoked for justifying such harmful practices.

Similarly, as an expression of the negative views of those who are unable — even in the present condition marked by the existence of missiles and nuclear weapons — to renounce the potential use of force and war as a means of solving international disputes, we also come across various theories on the possibility, or even harmlessness, of local wars. These theories are put forward despite a number of extremely eloquent experiences derived in this respect from the post-war period, although precisely the opposite should have become clear to everybody, viz. that any local war inevitably tends, under present world conditions, to turn into a general war. The trend towards so-called tactical nuclear weapons is bound to have the same effect.

What is the only lasting positive alternative to the present negative developments in this sphere? We are firmly convinced that the realisation of general and complete disarmament alone provides such an alternative. This is precisely the reason why the Yugoslav Government has — in addition to the support given to other comprehensive measures leading towards general and complete disarmament — welcomed the proposal set forth in the statement of the Prime Minister of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics Mr. Khrushchev to the General Assembly of the United Nations on 18 September 1959, as well as later Soviet proposals indicating a broad and direct approach to actual disarmament measures.

We are firmly convinced that general and complete disarmament is not an unrealistic aim, but rather the only possible and lasting solution. It is sufficiently well known, I believe, that the Yugoslav Government has always worked comprehensively and actively in the United Nations and elsewhere towards a solution of the problem of disarmament.

DISARMAMENT AND CONTROL

The problems of balance and control have often been placed into the forefront of negotiations so far. Provided there is a readiness and a sincere willingness to advance towards genuine disarmament, these problems should not, we feel, be allowed to become untractable and to constitute an obstacle to an agreement because, intrinsically, they are not and should not constitute such an obstacle. The question of balance should, of course, be taken into account in the concrete process of disarmament, as it would be unrealistic to expect any country to accept a proposal which might, at a given moment, or in a given period, place it into a position of obvious inferiority. It would be, however, extremely harmful to seek to establish an abstract and absolute balance in advance, as no such balance exists in the process of armament either.

The same applies to the control of disarmament. It is not possible to question, nor does anyone actually question, the need for adequate, strict control as a function of disarmament. On the other hand, to insist upon the introduction of far-reaching measures of control before undertaking measures of actual disarmament is only another way of opposing disarmament. Satisfactory compromises regarding the control problem are possible, if control is viewed within the context of solving the problem of disarmament and of the achievement of certain practical measures within a given process.

While giving its support to general and complete disarmament, and thus to the proposals made to this effect, the Yugoslav Government would be prepared to accept certain measures as part of the process leading to general and complete disarmament; such measures would, by their very nature, stimulate both further agreements and the solutions of the problem of disarmament in its entirety. What we have in mind here are genuine measures of a radical nature, with a visible and direct material and political effect, measures apt to contribute towards advancing the technological process essential to disarmament (what I have in mind is the development and application of control, etc.). The discontinuance of nuclear tests provides the best example of such a measure. Similar useful measures could, in the light of the above conditions, be the following: the reduction of military expenditure and the utilization of the savings effected in this way, or of part of these savings, for assistance to underdeveloped countries; the transfer of fissionable materials for peaceful uses, as well as disengagement in Central Europe. Taken together, these measures should provide a pattern of advance at the beginning and within the framework of essential progress towards general disarmament. The best thing would be, of course, to achieve the most substantial results as soon as possible; it seems to

me, however, that the steps I have outlined are significant enough to lead rapidly to major results.

IT IS ILLUSORY TO EXPECT PEACE WITHOUT ACTIVE CO-EXISTENCE AND EQUAL RIGHTS AMONG NATIONS

Mr. President,

The Fifteenth Session of the General Assembly is undoubtedly called upon, even more so than had been the case in the past, to help establish an appropriate procedure and machinery for disarmament negotiations.

A more appropriate procedure than the one applied so far would certainly make it possible for developments in the field of disarmament finally to take a more favourable turn. The forms used in the past have obviously not proved very fortunate. The frameworks which had been laid down were either too narrow and one-sided, or too broad and rigid, for the conduct of practical negotiations.

It is a fact that the great powers have a particular responsibility with regard to the question of disarmament, and thus also specific obligations towards the world. For this reason we have, for a number of years — through the establishment of the Five-Power Sub-Committee and later through the setting up of the Ten Nation Committee on Disarmament — entrusted the great powers with the task of finding a basis for agreement on disarmament and of evolving methods for the realization of such an agreement. It is well known that no results have been achieved; the negotiations were interrupted and the problem of disarmament has again been placed before the United Nations at the initiative of the great powers themselves.

It would therefore be necessary, for the purpose of conducting disarmament negotiations, to find a solution along the lines of a negotiating body which would be more effective and constituted on a broader basis than the Ten Nation Committee on Disarmament. The composition of the negotiating body should be such as to reflect more adequately the political structure of the present-day world and the principle of geographic representation. This would also ensure a more stable equilibrium in the negotiating body which might help avoid the difficulties soon encountered by the Ten Nation Committee based on the concept of mechanical equilibrium between the representatives of the two military alignments. On the other hand, the negotiating body should evidently be better suited to the performance of the operative tasks of negotiating than has been the case with the United Nations Disarmament Commission, which — I wish to lay particular emphasis on this — has a positive place and, perhaps, a lasting importance as an expression of the common interest and responsibilities of the entire membership of the United Nations in

regard to the disarmament problem. An appropriate and acceptable machinery could perhaps be found within the general framework of the Commission.

Efforts should be made in this respect to make proper use of the time and work of the present Session of the Assembly in order to reach at least a basic agreement on the renewal of the negotiations on disarmament. The whole world awaits this on our part. The Yugoslav delegation will, for its part, participate with the greatest interest, in the course of this Session, in the consideration of various aspects of the disarmament problem as well as in the possible study of new proposals, striving, as it has done in the past, to appraise objectively and to support all the elements that can bring us closer to a solution.

If the modern world is to cope successfully with the problems I have just mentioned as well as with all the other problems upon which peace and the future of mankind depend, it is indispensable that all peoples, without exception, should accept the principles of coexistence and, what is more, to apply them in their mutual relations everywhere and on every occasion.

In our opinion, the essence of peaceful and active coexistence should contain important elements that are not yet generally accepted in international relations, a fact which poisons in various ways and to a growing extent the relations between peoples and states in the world.

The first fundamental principle of coexistence, as we understand it, is that different social systems must not be a reason for war conflicts or stand in the way of peaceful cooperation amongst states and peoples.

The second fundamental principle of peaceful coexistence is that various controversial issues should be settled in a peaceful way, and that force and war should be eliminated from the practice of international relations.

The third fundamental principle is the observance of the obligation of non-interference in the internal affairs of other peoples and states and the right of every people to organize its own internal development and its own life.

Peaceful and active coexistence is now gaining momentum in the world in the technical, cultural and even, to a certain extent, in the political fields with regard to relations among states with different social systems. Why should artificial obstacles be placed in the way of this, the only correct process of development in the world? Why should misinformation, falsehood and even hatred among peoples be disseminated through the press, in speeches and in other ways? Why should antiquated, obsolete methods and procedures persistently be used in the modern world where they are not only anachronistic but also pose a constant threat to the peace and progress of mankind? These are precisely the elements that impede the proper development of international relations and cooperation. It is, of course, completely illusory to expect that peace

will prevail among nations, that they will be able to face the future without fear, if this world of ours continues to be a world where there is no equality between big and small states and nations, where those that have more consider it to their advantage that others have been left behind, or where it is believed that the arms race and the continuation of the cold war are the best means of national policy, and that the policy of force and strength is the surest way towards the fulfilment of their aspirations, whether justified or unjustified, and to solve outstanding problems.

Coexistence among nations therefore imposes itself not only as a practical necessity but also as an imperative in the present conditions. There is no alternative to this except to live in a state of almost constant "cold war", or to walk along "the verge of war", and finally to have a real war, which would mean complete destruction, and this we must all discard.

It is for this reason that it is no longer sufficient to define war as a "continuation of policy by other means". The orientation towards war for the solving of international disputes has become a component of a policy which is no longer capable of convincing otherwise than by threats or use of force. The fundamental principles of coexistence are really a living and creative interpretation of the spirit and principles of the Charter of our Organisation. By acceding to membership, we pledged ourselves to observe and apply these principles, and thus also to pursue an international policy fully in harmony with the concepts and practice of coexistence among nations, regardless of their racial, ideological or other differences. That is why it is completely incompatible with the principles of coexistence, and consequently with the principles of the United Nations Charter, not merely to preach and apply a policy of force and of the right of the stronger, but also to preach and apply racial discrimination, to interfere in the internal affairs of others under ideological and political pretexts, to exert economic pressure and discrimination of the stronger against the weaker; to apply any method of moral and political pressure.

CO-EXISTENCE STIMULATES AND FACILITATES HISTORICAL PROCESSES

On the other hand, no less erroneous is the notion that coexistence should mean the preservation of existing relations, as in areas under colonial rule for instance, and in other regions where the stronger and the more developed have built up privileged positions in weaker and underdeveloped countries. Such a notion is in flagrant contradiction with the spirit and significance of coexistence, which cannot serve to halt historical processes in international life. On the contrary, it stimulates and facilitates these processes without endangering world peace, but rather makes

it more stable. Because our views on the concept of coexistence are such, we cannot accept the view that in the present world, coexistence should be confined to ensuring the coexisting of the existing groupings. Of course, coexistence between them should also be sought in order to replace present tensions and mistrust, but not with the intention of stopping at such coexistence, but rather of making it a starting point towards more active relations and more fruitful and broader cooperation among all states and nations including those that today hold antagonistic positions. Bearing all this in mind, we consider that the true observance of the principles of coexistence is proved and tested only through actual practice, i.e. above all through the extent to which a given policy, political concepts and actions contribute to the strengthening of peace.

The country on behalf of which I am speaking here today, the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, has, ever since its birth, sought to establish relations with countries from various parts of the world on such a basis. Owing to this, we believe that our country has contributed not only to its own national interests and aspirations, but also to the general cause of the world. As a fully independent country, it acts in the conviction that it follows a course which, in the present world, leads most surely to peace and to active international cooperation. Pursuing such a course, my country has established fruitful relations with all the nations that were ready to cooperate on the basis of mutual respect, equality and non-interference. On the other hand, Yugoslavia has met along this road a number of countries and peoples from all continents which, guided by the same aspirations, constituted a beneficial force of peace in the days of the cold war. In the present changed international conditions these countries and peoples have proved to be the most consistent protagonists of efforts for the realization of coexistence in the world, for peace based on progress and equal rights. These independent countries have therefore turned, in the first place, towards our Organization, seeing in it and its Charter a powerful instrument for the realization of their own aspirations, as well as the general strivings of mankind. It is up to us to prove at the present Session of the Assembly, by the decisions which we are going to take, more than we have done before, that their trust in our Organization has been justified.

I believe that the Assembly should, at its present Session, adopt certain general directives perhaps in the form of a declaration by the General Assembly relating to the efforts and rules of conduct which are essential in order to eliminate international tension, to promote peaceful and good-neighbourly relations among states and to develop international cooperation in all spheres.

All of us here, representatives of countries large and small alike, are faced with the momentous and unique task to make it possible,

through our common efforts, for the peoples and nations of the world to advance towards a more radiant future.

Mr. President,

Gentlemen,

I have set forth here our views concerning certain international problems that we consider to be of the greatest importance and urgency today. In defining our attitudes on various questions, we always endeavour to be guided by certain principles, which constitute the foundation of our entire foreign policy; these principles, as I have already said, are merely a concretization of the principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations.

May I, in conclusion, summarize our views.

We believe and maintain that there is no other alternative to active, peaceful coexistence in the world of today and tomorrow. By this we mean the possibility and necessity of developing lasting cooperation among countries with different social and political systems.

With regard to the crucial question of disarmament, we are faced by a seemingly insoluble contradiction. On the one hand, war is becoming ever more absurd owing to the appalling destructive capabilities of contemporary weapons. On the other hand, the piling up of ever more destructive weapons itself leads to war. It is evident that only a prevention of the further accumulation of weapons, i.e. disarmament, can provide a solution. In this sense we insist that disarmament talks should be renewed as soon as possible within an adequate framework. If no agreement on general disarmament can be reached at the present moment, we should be ready to engage in a partial agreement. Once the idea of a partial agreement is accepted, we must be ready to face the fact that such an agreement will fall short of perfection. The risks involved are obviously incomparably smaller than those contained in the present completely uncontrolled armaments race.

YUGOSLAVIA WILL SUPPORT ALL PEACEFUL INITIATIVE WHEREVER IT COMES FROM. WAR IS NOT INEVITABLE

This point of view of ours also determines our attitude to certain tendencies that may lead to a general division of the world and which evidently constitute one of the basic negative facts and elements of contemporary international life and one of the main causes of the so-called cold war. Therefore, any extension and aggravation of this struggle necessarily leads to the intensification of the cold war, to propaganda moves, to extreme and exclusive attitudes, and to the alignment of all countries according to these attitudes — thus further deforming and straining international relations, intensifying and aggravating existing disputes, provoking new conflicts and rendering agreement more difficult.

We have always endeavoured, especially in tense situations, to take a stand on various proposals and initiatives not according to the side from which they come, but in terms of their significance for the strengthening of peace.

We have thus given full support to the Soviet proposal on general and complete disarmament and do so today. We shall continue to act in this way in the future and lend our support to any initiative, regardless where it comes from, which, in our opinion, contributes to the strengthening of peace.

It follows from all that I have said, that we do not see a way out of the very dangerous situation in which the world finds itself in alignment with one side or the other, still less in an aggravation of the struggle between them. We believe that a way out can be found in a gradual overcoming of the obstacles that this struggle brings in its wake and in the gradual superseding and eliminating of the existing military alliances. It is, namely, evident that coexistence in the atmosphere of the arms race can in no way provide a basis for a lasting and stable peace. On the contrary, peace can be ensured and strengthened only through the development of broad cooperation on all questions of general interest and through a resolute struggle for disarmament and for the abolition of unequal relations.

Finally, we believe and maintain that war is no longer inevitable, or rather that there exist real prospects for its permanent elimination as an instrument of policy and means of settling international disputes. Our conviction is based on an estimate that those forces in the world which incline towards war for the attainment of their objectives, and which are accordingly preparing for war, can be isolated and rendered harmless by the consistent policy of peace. In other words, we believe that the overwhelming majority of mankind is opposed to war, that the material and social and political conditions for the maintenance of peace are maturing increasingly, and that the forces in the world which are against war are today sufficiently strong and capable of preventing its outbreak.

These are the basic principles by which Yugoslav foreign policy is guided. I think that the explanation I have given will contribute towards a better understanding of both these principles and of our entire foreign policy. I am convinced that within this framework it will be clear why and in what sense we are attaching particular importance to the contribution that the so-called non-committed countries can make towards the betterment of international relations and as to the great role that the United Nations can and should play in this respect.

THE RENEWAL OF DISARMAMENT TALKS

Prospect at the Fifteen UN General Assembly

By Mladen IVEKOVIĆ

THE MOST responsible statesmen, whose speeches before the United Nations General Assembly attracted the greatest attention throughout the world, including President Eisenhower, President Tito Premier Khrushchev and Premier Nasser, have pleaded for the renewal of disarmament talks. In our opinion, this is a reasonable basis for an eventual *agreement to resume the disarmament negotiations*. It would be quite wrong and contrary to the wishes of millions of people if this appeal of the eminent representatives of different world groups, of which some belong to the circle of uncommitted countries, should be ascribed to rhetorical or propagandist competition for preference, in the general longing for peace and agreement. But, as we know, there have been such attempts. When the representatives of the two most powerful countries, which threaten each other with their tremendous military potential, declare themselves in favour of disarmament negotiations, and when such countries as Yugoslavia and many other independent states also lay special emphasis on this, then — in our opinion — all questions which might prevent the reaching of an agreement in principle on the renewal of such negotiations immediately, that is to say at the Fifteenth General Assembly, should be for the moment left aside. In other words, the big powers should be "taken at their word" and, by taking advantage of the good offices of the numerous independent countries, the renewal of negotiations should be insisted upon. The attitude of the powers to this concrete question and their readiness to sit at the round table once again "in spite of all", will be test of whether they sincerely wish to bridge by agreement the grave crisis in international relations today, or if they have "hidden intentions."

The Soviet Union, the United States and Great Britain, have all made suggestions, some of them comprehensive and some more limited, as to how to approach the problem of disarmament. Thus, regardless of how far they have gone in their suggestions, they recognize the need for negotiations on this problem, between the most responsible states. In his important speech at the General Assembly, President Tito explained the reasons why the Yugoslav Government welcomed the proposal of the Soviet Union for general and complete disarmament, and emphasized that it has supported and will support any other proposals which may lead to general and complete disarmament. In this connection it should be stressed that the Yugoslav Government supported the British plan of disarmament submitted to the General Assembly session last year. Consequently, the

comments from certain Western circles to the effect that the Yugoslav Government gives one-sided and exclusive support to Soviet proposals, and neglects constructive initiative from other quarters, are neither correct nor well intended. The fact that Yugoslavia gives first place to the proposal of the Soviet Government for general and complete disarmament as a *possible basis for negotiation* is explained, not only by the broad and direct approach to effective measures for disarmament which marks the proposal, but also by the fact that last year's General Assembly accepted with unprecedented unanimity the Soviet proposal as the basis for negotiations. That the Soviet plan does not exclude other constructive initiative even today, regardless of where it may come from, is clearly deducible from the context of Tito's speech.

On the other hand, declaratory statements of high representatives of the big powers in favour of the renewal of disarmament talks would be sterile and merely a manifestation of unfruitful propagandist auctioning, if they were not followed by common efforts to create a favourable atmosphere for negotiation. "To create conditions in which the efforts to achieve disarmament may be successful, said President Tito, it is obviously an absolute necessity to have a minimum of good will and the indispensable amount of mutual trust." It cannot be said that after the abortive Paris meeting in May last, the big powers pursued this path. On the contrary, the international situation constantly deteriorated and mutual mistrust grew until the opening of the Fifteenth Session of the UN General Assembly. The preaching of the inevitability of war between capitalist and socialist countries, a thesis which, in certain circles, gained particular importance after the Paris failure, on the one hand, and the hurried arming of the Bundeswehr, the endangered independence of the Congo, the internal crisis in Japan in connection with the Japanese-American military pact and other critical situations in different parts of the world, on the other, showed people all over the world how deep the crisis in mutual trust was and to what a dangerous extent the atmosphere between East and West was poisoned.

That is why the Fifteenth Session of the UN General Assembly was considered, in such a situation, as the first and only possible refuge of all countries and factors reasonable enough to realize that the continuation of this situation, the further growth of mistrust between East and West, and the renewal of the cold war, would inevitably end in catastrophe. The problem has been returned to UNO, but the presence of such an imposing number

of the leaders of governments and states at the Fifteenth UN General Assembly Session has given millions of people encouragement and the guarantee that the solving of the gravest international problems, above all that of disarmament, will be approached with the greatest amount of responsibility. The presence and activity at the Fifteenth General Assembly of the heads of non-aligned countries, and of those that are not directly involved in the cold war, is considered as particularly important all over the world, because they have shown themselves to represent a new quality in the United Nations, a factor displaying increasing capacities, will and determination, which will play a beneficial intermediary role in bridging the antagonism between the two conflicting blocs and in finding a way out of this dangerous international blindalley. As regards ourselves, we can state with satisfaction that the specific role and the moral power of the uncommitted countries, among which our country and her President play an important role, has obtained its rightful place at the Fifteenth Session of the General Assembly itself and that it has been — in spite of everything — recognized by both West and East.

But it cannot be said either, that all the actions and declarations of the big powers at this year's session of the General Assembly have contributed to the reaching of the indispensable amount of mutual trust and atmosphere of favourable negotiation in question. The show of readiness to renew the negotiations on disarmament, with detailed proposals for its concrete measures and stages, was unfortunately spoilt by new relapses into strained relations and deepened mistrust, first of all, of the initiative to transform the Fifteenth General Assembly into a forum where the highest and the most responsible representatives of the member countries would solve the most acute international problems. The reception afforded to Mr Khrushchev, and the restriction of movement the United States imposed on him and some other statesmen during their stay in the USA, the organized hostile campaign against some countries and their heads, could not but create mistrust and, in addition, furnish arguments to those factors which, from the very beginning, had been on principle against the enhancing of UNO's reputation and role in the conflict between East and West. We have been witnesses of, to say the least, strange and shortsighted underrating and even ridiculing of the role of the United Nations by some Western and Eastern political circles. Besides this, there is speculation among the public even today, often in an extremely offensive manner inadmissible in normal international relations, on the possibility or impossibility of a meeting between President Eisenhower and Premier Khrushchev, though it is obvious that such a meeting would present a better proof that the represen-

tatives of these super-powers desire agreement than their solemn declarations about such wishes.

For what, in view of the heavily charged international situation after the collapse in Paris, would be more normal and more logical than a new meeting of those who did succeed in coming together in May last, once they have come to the Fifteenth Session of the General Assembly. This is the way the man in the street reasons all over the world.

Besides the completely misplaced inclusion on the General Assembly's agenda of the Hungarian question, which has been making bad blood among the conflicting groups in UNO for four years now, the elements against the creation of the minimum amount of favourable atmosphere we mentioned, include the latest incursions of the People's Republic of China against the United Nations and the policy of peaceful co-existence. It is not surprising that the appearance of President Tito before the General Assembly should have given rise to these attacks, but it was impossible for anyone with a political mind not to see that the Chinese malcontents were attacking, in fact and on principle, a whole line of agreement between East and West, to which many factors in both quarters have pladged themselves. When the Chinese press writes that when "Tito tried to pass off his false revisionist arguments for active and peaceful co-existence and universal international co-operation" he repeated the theses of American imperialism and pleaded for "giving assistance to underdeveloped countries through UNO, which is manipulated by the USA" then it is enough to re-read the speeches of some other heads of governments before the General Assembly to see that these objection are, in fact, addressed, in the first place, to others, and only in the second place to President Tito.

On the other hand, President Eisenhower and Mr Khrushchev endeavoured, each of them from his own position, to approach the problem of disarmament and the relationship between West and East in a conciliatory way, leaving the door open for negotiations. Mr Khrushchev emphasized, in particular, the interest of the Soviet Union in the improvement of her relations with the United States. He put forward once more a detailed proposal for general and complete disarmament, and in some of its points he even approached Western conceptions. Eisenhower, without entering into a comprehensive plan, focussed attention on outer space, and on stocks of nuclear weapons, and pointed out the danger of war which might be provoked by "wrong calculation." In general, both of them put forward proposals and conceptions of disarmament that were already known, but which deserve the greatest attention. The most important fact is, however, that both statesmen declared themselves *in favour of the renewal of disarmament talks* so that, at least in this regard, their dialogue was not a "dialogue between two deaf people." And this is, in our opinion, of vital importance and should be the starting-point for the

further activity of all the UNO member countries that are endeavouring to remove the mistrust between the representatives of the conflicting military alliances and their countries.

If we analyse in this light Nikita Khrushchev's latest proposal for modifications concerning the position of the UN Secretary General and for moving the seat of UNO, we cannot help expressing concern that this proposal brought about such a sudden dramatization of the situation by the representatives of the USA, Great Britain and others, that there were moments when it seemed that it might block any further approach, even to such a key question as the renewal of the disarmament talks. There was and there still is the danger of utilizing the proposal of the Soviet Premier concerning the position of the UN Secretary General for starting the cold war again, and for side-tracking other discussion, leaving aside those acute problems which brought such an extraordinary assembly of heads of governments and countries together in New York. Of course, no one can be denied the right to disapprove of Mr Khrushchev's views of the position and function of the Secretary General, or the right to reject his thesis that the problem of disarmament cannot be solved until the problem of the Secretary General is solved in the way proposed by him. One could also discuss the opportuneness and effect of the formation and function of the new institution of a General Secretariat composed of the representatives of three different groups of states, with the right of veto — an institution which would, in itself, sanction today's division of the world. The demand that the proposal for the modification of the structure and function of the position of the UN Secretary General should be given priority in the debate at the General Assembly, might likewise be submitted to serious and constructive discussion. None of this can be avoided unless there are certain modifications in views in respect of the structure and function of the UNO General Secretariat which the Soviet delegation is so resolutely demanding before the General Assembly.

But this session of the General Assembly, the most important one in the history of the United Nations, should not be turned into an arena of new conflicts between countries with different political and social systems, or between conflicting military and political alliances, however delicate the problems which have been raised or may still be raised.

It is really difficult to conceive that, if this unique opportunity offered to mankind by the Fifteenth General Assembly should be missed, there would remain any reasonable hope for a similar opportunity in the near future. The failure of this General Assembly Session would lead to consequences which cannot be assessed now, for the world would be hurled into uncertainty and catastrophe. This is why President Tito's warning that "it is the eleventh hour for the following of a new, constructive path in international relations" has found such powerful repercussions and

understanding throughout the world. The eleventh hour already struck, at the Fifteenth General Assembly of UNO. The discussions at the General Assembly and in its corridors, and through the world press and conflicting propaganda, would serve ill the cause of peace and agreement among nations on crucial and acute problems, if any secondary or inessential questions should blur the chief purport and aim of the meeting of the heads of governments and states at the United Nations.

What is encouraging in this new, tense situation at the United Nations, and instills fresh confidence among people, is the wide activity of the independent countries, not aligned to military or political alliances, which aims at removing new obstacles in the creation of a better atmosphere for negotiation, and at directing the attention of both big and small participants to the key problems.

These are, in the first place, those of disarmament and the halting of nuclear explosions, the problem of colonialism and that of the underdeveloped countries.

The Fifteenth General Assembly of UNO has shown in practice the great moral power of the uncommitted countries, which President Tito evoked repeatedly after the failure of the big-four meeting in Paris.

Both in the United Nations and in international relations in general, a new factor of peace and international agreement has been forcefully affirmed — a factor which the big powers cannot but take into account.

If we keep in mind the tested capacity and determination of this new factor to continue its efforts to find a way out of the tense and troubled international situation of today, and to offer its valuable services for any rapprochement between the big powers, we may expect with confidence that the Fifteenth Session of the UN General Assembly will be fruitful and yield initial results in the renewal of constructive negotiations of general and complete disarmament — the most urgent question in the relations between East and West.

Our Current Account

"THE REVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS"
HAS CURRENT ACCOUNT AT THE NATIONAL
BANK AND IT READS

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President Tito's Meetings in New York

In connection with the lively political and diplomatic activity which centres round UNO, President Tito, the head of the Yugoslav delegation at the Fifteenth UNO General Assembly has had numerous meetings and talks with the most prominent statesmen of the world. President Tito has exchanged views on current international problems and on questions concerning the work of the General Assembly with President Eisenhower, Krishna Menon, head of the Indian UNO delegation, N'Krumah, President of the Republic of Ghana, President Nasser the Egyptian Premier, Premier Nehru, Mr Macmillan, the British Prime Minister, Claude Kore, head of the Ceylon delegation, Prince Mulaj Hassan, head of the Mo-

rocco delegation, Prince Sihanouk, head of the Cambodia delegation, Abte Word, head of the Ethiopian delegation, Krim Belkassem, President of the provisional Government of Algeria, Mohamed Na'im, head of the Afghanistan delegation, Ahmet Kheir, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Sudan, Mr Khrushchev, the Soviet Premier, Mr. Hassem Javad, head of Iraq delegation, prince Sejfal al Hassan, head of Yemen delegation, Mr. Seni, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Italy, Mr. Saeb Salam, President of Government of Lebanon, Mr. Bishveshvar Prasad Koiral, President of Government of Nepal. On September 29 in Yugoslav Residence in New York was held a meeting of heads of delegations of the five non-aligned countries: Tito, Nasser, Nehru, Sukarno and N'Krumah.

Not Courtesy but Obligation

BY N. DUBRAVČIĆ

The exceptional character, objectives and composition of this year's UNO General Assembly entails great obligations on the United States as the host, the more so as some prominent leaders of foreign countries are on American soil for the first time. Apart from the rules of traditional hospitality which may be observed or not — depending on the degree of civilization, dignity and spiritual riches of the country finding itself in the role of host — the USA Government has special obligations resulting from its Contract with the United Nations. This Contract clearly stipulates that USA is bound to ensure proper conditions for the reception, accommodation and normal work of all delegations, regardless of whether this or that delegation complies or not with the official views of Washington. Under the same Contract the USA police is bound to provide for the security of all delegates and to take measures to prevent any suspicious activities which might affect their stay in the United States, or injure their reputation and the honour of the countries they represent. When the United States strove for the choice of New York as the permanent seat of the United Nations, the other agreed to this, considering that the conditions for UNO's activity would be secured in the United States in the best possible way.

These expectations have, unfortunately, been disappointed. The Yugoslav public have been profoundly shocked by the annoyances to which their president has been exposed in his New York residence, and are concerned about his safety. In a country anxious to point out its democratic character and inclined to reproach others with "indecent behaviour", the remnants of the Chetnik and Ustasha emigration were per-

mitted to rush the building of the Yugoslav Mission, and to offend the Yugoslav president, his country and his peoples. The demonstrations, the menaces and the excesses of the Fascist groups took place before the eyes of the American police who, though charged with ensuring the Yugoslav delegates free and unhampered work, watched with folded arms, as the president of an independent country was exposed to danger, attacked, and vulgarly abused.

It is, of course, the personal concern of America and her conceptions of political morals, that she has given shelter and the status of allies in the anticommunist campaign to the quisling rabble of Ustashes and Chetniks, but the indifferent attitude of the American police towards attacks on the president of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia cannot be tolerated.

This is a disregard of one of the clearly stipulated obligations the USA is bound to observe, if she wishes the seat of the United Nations to be in her country. This disregard is the more regrettable, since there are many indications that the disturbances were organized with the toleration of certain official circles in the USA. Else how can it be explained that the demonstrations were repeated even after successive protests from the Yugoslav delegates in general, and from Koča Popović, the Yugoslav Foreign Secretary, in particular, who was compelled to report this insulting and provocative behaviour to the United Nations.

The fact that the heads of other delegations were exposed to similar dangers indicates the participation of certain official organs in the United States in the organizing of a system of insulting unwelcome foreign statesmen. The heads of governments whose policy does

not please the USA were given a hostile reception. Even before the arrival of Mr Khrushchev and the leaders of the East European countries, of Fidel Castro, the head of the Cuban Government and of President Nasser, some American circles and a large section of the press, displayed this extraordinary lack of politeness and sense of international courtesy. Through newspapers and declarations from certain quarters and organizations, an outrageous campaign was stirred, up, recalling the worst days of the cold war. President Eisenhower and other responsible American personages appealed in vain for reasonable and decent behaviour. Khrushchev and the East European leaders were greeted with hostile outbursts, with the threat of a docker's strike with demonstrations from the quisling elements, and with unusual restrictions on their accommodations space and movements. The way in which the American organs of public security treated Fidel Castro at Idlewild Airport and, later, at his hotel, was not only a blatant insult to the head of a sovereign country, but deliberate ill-treatment, which is inadmissible in international relations.

All these acts, which were tolerated and even encouraged by certain official circles, are an assault on the dignity and reputation of the countries referred to. Moreover, by hampering the work of the United Nations, they invite the danger of a return of the spirit of hatred and revenge to its halls. The United Nations, moreover, is not a private institution of the United States, nor has any American office the right to issue entrance cards for its assembly.

It is almost needless to emphasize that this trea-

tment of prominent foreign guests will only cause damage to the name and reputation of the United States. Many American newspapers are aware of this, among them the New York Times, which emphasized, in an article by Sulzberger, that such things were both impolite and unpleasant and could not but have unfavourable repercussions abroad. If America was wise enough to claim the privilege to be the host of the United Nations then she should be wise enough to perform her duties in a polite way. It was high time for America to accept her responsibilities with dignity, and to behave like the Swiss.

These ugly actions were condemned also by Walter Lippmann in an article published in the New York Herald Tribune, in which he said the USA was obliged to protect, not only the actual buildings and the physical persons of members of the United Nations on the island of Manhattan, but also to protect their dignity. It shewed a complete misunderstanding of the special nature of the relations between the United States and the United Nations when Khrushchev, Castro, Kadar or others were spoken as unwelcome and unwanted guests. He added that they were in New York because their governments — regardless of what the Americans might think of them — were members of the United Nations, and that the United States were bound to uphold their right to be there.

It is to be hoped that the Government of the United States will take strong measures to enable statesmen from foreign countries to devote themselves undisturbed and in security to the constructive work for whose sake they have come to New York.

Role of S.E.V. in Economic Co-Operation in the „Socialist Camp“

By Draginja ARSIC

THE STATUTE of the Council for Reciprocal Economic Assistance (Savet za uzajamnu ekonomsku pomoć — SEV) became effective on April 13. By this Statute the institutional bonds among the European countries in the "Socialist Camp" have been strengthened. SEV was founded in 1949 and its Statute was adopted at the Twelfth Session at Sofia in December 1959, but the resolutions on the objectives, principles and organization of the functions of SEV were already in force before the adoption of its Statute.

By the new Statute the character of SEV is definitely stipulated as an organization of the European countries in the "Socialist Camp", and not of all countries of the "World Socialist System". Thus the Asian countries — the People's Republic of China, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, the People's Republic of Mongolia and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, still remain only observers of the

work of SEV, on condition to be set forth by SEV, in agreement with them. The reasons why the Asian Camp countries have not joined SEV are unknown. It is true that there are greater possibilities for utilizing completely and consistently the advantages of divided work among states if their levels of economic development are not too different, but as the economic level in the SEV area is not homogenous, even without the Asian countries, this is probably not the primary reason why the People's Republic of China has not become a member.

In this connection it should be mentioned that the special position of the People's Republic of China in the "Camp", owing to its possibility of developing a self-sufficient and complete industry, which is not the case in the other People's Democratic countries, has often been stressed.

The formal limitation of SEV to Europe is in any case a significant element in assessing the unity

of the "Socialist Camp" in respect of economic and other resolutions for, according to its postulates, SEV is an institution wide enough to include the less developed countries of the "Asian Camp". However, the rule of the Statute saying that SEV membership is open also to other European countries, provided they adopt the aims and principles of SEV and declare themselves ready to undertake the obligations set forth in the Statute (paragraph 2 — point 2), suggests that there exist other problems and unclear formulations regarding the character of this organization. Since Yugoslavia's proposal to participate in the work of SEV has been twice refused, it is rather unclear to which European countries "membership is open". The representatives of the governments of eight East European countries in the "Socialist Camp" certainly had reasons for this rule in the Statute on the admission of SEV members.

But to anyone wishing to analyse the character of the organization on the strength of its Statute, these reasons remain unclear. The declaration concerning open membership was made perhaps to give the Council (SEV) the formal character of a wide international organization, and thus to confirm the readiness of the East European countries to develop economic relations with all European countries "irrespective of their social or state systems". The work of SEV so far, its objectives, and the fact that Yugoslavia was refused, does not support this supposition. However, the accommodation of future practice to the provisions of the new Statute should be welcomed, since this would mean the widening of economic co-operation and of division of work, which is in step with the requirements demanded by the contemporary development of productive powers in the world. In other words, this would mean opening the closed circle of SEV, as an organisation for the integration of the East European economic area.

In the eleven years of its existence SEV has been increasingly successful (especially since 1956) as an organization in its efforts to establish strong bonds in the economic development of its members. SEV is conceived as an organ for multilateral economic co-operation among the European countries in the camp. The advance of such co-operation in the economy of Eastern Europe is a task to be fulfilled, but only when the numerous problems which have so far appeared in the activity of SEV have been solved in theory and practice. Bilateral relations — the initial form of co-operation between the countries in the "Socialist Camp" — are still the basis for co-operation. In view of the many problems which are still pending, economic co-operation within the framework of SEV is still more or less within the scope of foreign trade, theoretical discussions and plans. The actions of SEV have encountered many difficulties, and thus little has been done in practice for the division of work and interstate specialization and co-operation. The poor results of these actions caused Vladimir Gomulka, the Polish leader, to declare at the Fifth Plenary Session of the CK PURP on June 21: "The wide scope of co-operation in economy now includes, in fact, only the field of foreign trade and, to a certain extent, the field of technics. But in the important domain of investments there is no

effective co-operation. In this domain everybody administers affairs according to his own ideas, but also to his own detriment. I do not wish now to analyze the causes of such a state of things. But it is beyond doubt that one of the most important tasks in the widening of mutual co-operation in Socialist countries is to co-ordinate their investments in their industries." ("Trybuna ludu", June 22, 1960).

At its thirteen sessions held so far, SEV has adopted many suggestions, with the assistance of its permanent commissions, for co-operation in various fields which, if carried into effect, will greatly contribute to the interdependence and inter-relations in its area. It should be said that the attempts in the first years, to close the East European area did not yield satisfactory results. Today there are tendencies in the practice of East European countries and in the declarations of their leaders which show that the SEV area is not a self-sufficient economic complex, and that co-operation with the other areas in the world is indispensable for its normal economic development. In other words, it is absolutely necessary for this area to behave as an integral part of the whole world economy. In this connection the declarations of Khrushchev and Mikojan are particularly significant. At the Japanese Exhibition in Moscow this year Khrushchev declared that "... there are no family relations in trade. The only "relative" is the seller who offers better wares at more attractive prices." In the light of this declaration and of some of the postulates expounded by Mikojan in his article in the May 30 issue of "Handelsblatt", a West German periodical, little practical importance seems to have been attached to the theories of "two world markets" and of the "socialist world market."

At today's level of development of productive power no area in the world is self-sufficient, and a single country can still less be so. When Marx observed that the use of machines and steam results in divorcing the big industry from its national soil and in completely linking it to the world market, and to international exchange and international division of work, then this applied still more to the use of atoms. Even if there were a possibility for a closed economy in a vast area, in theory, it would be, as stressed by Mikojan, a very costly pleasure and an unprofitable business. Of course, the existence of a regional organization such as SEV, however important the constructive role it may play, in certain conditions, in the development and organization of inter-state economic co-operation, always reflects, to a certain extent, a tendency to close and to single out a region from the structure of the world economy. In the last five years the East European countries have, however, made many efforts to widen their economic relations in other parts of the world.

In the period ending in 1956 the general trend in the SEV area was to direct the foreign trade of the individual countries to the markets in the USSR and the "camp". In recent years there has been a gradual change in the opposite direction, especially in Poland, Czechoslovakia and the USSR, although more than 70 per cent of the total foreign trade turnover in the "camp" countries still falls on their reciprocal exchange, and only 30 per cent on their

trade with capitalist countries. The volume of trade with the capitalist countries was more than doubled in the period from 1950 to 1959. The foreign trade volume of the USSR with capitalist countries was increased almost five times in the same period. The connections of the USSR and the camp with the underdeveloped areas in the world have been especially widened — in the period from 1953 to 1959 the total exchange of goods of the USSR with these countries was increased nearly eight times. The share of the "Socialist Camp" countries in the world exchange of goods has gradually increased in step with their economic growth. While in 1950 about 8 per cent of the world exchange of goods fell on the "camp" countries, the rate amounted to nearly 13 per cent in 1959.

In the present phase, which is called by the "camp" a "new decisive stage in the development of the world socialist system", the activity of SEV is concentrated on the co-ordination of long-terms plans of economic development and on reciprocal specialization and co-operation in the field of economy. At the last SEV Session, the thirteenth, held in Budapest from July 26 to 29, it was agreed that all the SEV member countries should draw up long-term plans for the same period, that is up to 1980.

Judging by the agenda of the Sessions which have been held up to now, the biggest problem in the economic development of the SEV area is to establish proportional relations between the raw material and power sources and the processing industries. Some of the "camp" countries can only with

difficulty or cannot at all secure a proportionate development within the framework of their national economies, and thus they must co-operate with countries both inside and outside the camp. The greatest shortage of raw materials and power is felt in East Germany. According to East European statistics, East Germany imports almost her total naphtha needs, about two thirds of the iron ore, coal, lead, zinc etc she uses. Czechoslovakia likewise imports almost all her naphtha and the bulk of non-ferrous metals and iron ore. Poland and Hungary are in a similar situation. The whole of the SEV territory is certainly in want of copper, coke and various chemical raw materials. Besides this, East Germany, Hungary and Czechoslovakia lack electric power, whose generation has been lagging behind the growing demand in recent years.

It is beyond doubt that proportional development, not only in the individual SEV countries but in the whole area, is inseparable from ever-widening economic co-operation, both among the SEV countries themselves and with other countries. The role of SEV in organizing the mutual co-operation of its members has gained in importance in recent years. But SEV is still engaged in organizing and preparing more intensive economic relations, involving specialization and co-operation, so that the division of its work is still in its initial stage. The situation was best characterized by Stefan Jendihovski, a Polish economist, who recently stressed that specialization and co-operation in the SEV countries is still on the level of "intensive verbal agitation."

YUGOSLAVIA TODAY

CHANGES IN THE SYSTEM OF VOCATIONAL TRAINING

By Stana TOMAŠEVIC

THE NEED for the most different types of trained personnel is a problem the Yugoslav community has had to deal during the whole postwar period. Beginning with the reconstruction of the country, followed by accelerated industrialization and steady technological development in production, along with the setting up of new productive branches and social services, the demand for competent personnel has been constantly growing. In this period the training of needed personnel, the enlargement of the old capacities for schooling and the establishment of new ones were achieved, although with considerable effort. The level of the general education of

pupils in the schools for young workers was raised. With the founding of schools for vocational training, more up-to-date forms of education for young workers were introduced, and the number of qualified workers was increased. The system of vocational education in this period included new types of schools, and their structure was shifted in favour of training schools.

In addition to the network of schools for qualified workers, schools for the training of technicians, higher schools and schools for plant engineers, other forms of training also alleviated the scarcity of trained personnel. The introduction of centres for vocational training, which in the last

few years have proved to be very useful institutions, the steady improvement in the organization of workers' and popular universities as well as in that of correspondence and evening schools, along with the establishment of a great number of courses, seminars and consultations, and the increasing use of the radio, film, press and television for educational purposes, offers the working people extensive opportunities for acquiring a more complete general and professional education.

All these efforts have had good results and justified the investments made in them. But the system of vocational training still lags behind the growing needs for trained personnel, both in number and in type. The principal reasons for this are the intensive development of the economy, the profound changes in the structure of the population, and an insufficient degree of development and flexibility in the system of professional training. Although the existing educational system is three times as developed as the prewar system was, it cannot provide the economy and the public services with more than 60,000 professionally trained workers with medium and superior qualifications per annum, which is not sufficient to cover the needs of economic development.

In recent years there has been a great increase in the number of employed persons in towns in this country, owing to the influx of labour from the villages. The number of persons engaged in other than agricultural occupations had increased by 1953 to 1,165,000 as against the rate in 1931. As a result, there are 800,000 new workers and employees in other than agricultural branches of economy. This is the result, not only of the rapid growth of economic activity but also of the accelerated development of many other activities and public services. The rate of increase in industrial production averages 12.5 per cent per annum, and in recent years the rate has been even higher. The material basis is provided by industry and agriculture, which are already relatively developed today, and in which the process of modernization and changed technology is becoming more and more marked. The efficient utilization of resources as well as the speed and degree of the application of up-to-date technological methods is directly connected with the raising of the level of the training of the workers. Both modern industry and contemporary agriculture require a certain amount of professional knowledge, even for work places where completely unskilled workers have been employed up to now. The intensive application of contemporary techniques, technology, electronics and automation in almost all branches of economy, and the constant technical reconstruction and adaption of production to the up-to-date requirements of science and technique will — according to the present estimates of economic and technical development — call for twice the number of highly qualified workers in the coming twenty years.

During the last few years it has become imperative to find a solution for adapting in the shortest possible time the level of vocational training and

the number and types of qualified personnel in the economy to contemporary development, as well as to scientific and technical attainments.

These solutions are formulated in the resolution on the training of qualified personnel, which was passed by the Federal People's Assembly during its session in June last. In this document, which is of great social and political importance, the basic conceptions of the new system of vocational training are laid down. The new system is founded on principles whose realization will bring about profound reforms in the whole educational system in Yugoslavia. The economy, the public services, and the professional and social organizations will play the principal role in outlining the policy and development of the system for the training of qualified personnel. The conception of professional training, the structure of the educational institutions, the duration of training, and the sources from which the candidates for training will be recruited, must be adapted to the needs of the present economic and social development, and to its future prospects. The new system of vocational training, which will include the most varied types of educational institutions and methods, will be established so as to allow the greatest number of future producers to obtain their training and to enable workers who are already engaged in the process of production to broaden their knowledge. Thus the regular school will no longer be, as it was in the classical system of education, the only institution concerned in the education of the personality of the Yugoslav citizen. The school will provide a solid basis for the performance of the type of work involved, and

CURRENT EVENTS

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the personality will then be formed further by the existing social system, by socialist social relations, and by a number of educational institutions.

The system of vocational and general education will in no way be opposed to one another. For the all-round education demanded by Yugoslav society it is necessary to have institutions of different types which will provide training on various levels, to various types of trainees. Besides the compulsory eightyear schooling, economic, public and other institutions have developed on a considerable scale manifold forms of vocational and other training both of new workers and of those who are already engaged in production. Vocational training is becoming part of the actual life of the country: every developed economic organization has become a "school" in a certain sense, and the qualifications of a worker are assessed not only according to certificates of graduation from this or that school, but also by the results of his work.

By this resolution, which places the economic organizations among the leaders of vocational training, an important step has been made towards raising the system based on handicraft schools to such forms of vocational training as answer best the needs of the economy. Thus the new system will consist of all forms of vocational training, ranging from organized study at the place of work and at the centres for the training of workers in economic organizations and public services, to new forms to be organized for this purpose by workers' and popular universities, as well as by educational centres of quite a new type and by higher vocational schools and faculties. In the resolution it was maintained that all institutions covered by the system of vocational training should tender professional and other necessary knowledge to both young people and adults. By this the regular full-time and the external part-time systems of expert training are brought to an equal level and into closer connection.

The resolution stipulates that the curriculum of professional training should consist of practical, theoretical and other scientific and general subjects which are indispensable for the adequate performance of the work at various working places in industry and in society. The volume, content and level of the practical and theoretical knowledge to be acquired, as well as the duration and course of professional training, will depend on the demands for skilled personnel put forward by the branches of economy and the public services.

Of no less importance is the principle which calls for the introduction of productive work in the process of education. The educational value of work resulting from practice and experience in production is given an outstanding place in vocational training. The traditional method of teaching will have to be modified so as to convey knowledge by the mutually connected processes of education and productive work. This is a "shortened" system in comparison with that of the school of the classical type, but this "shortening" is compensated for by the confidence acquired by participation in productive work and in social life.

In the resolution the creation of such conditions as will secure in due time a sufficient number of personnel for the needs of the various types of production is specially insisted on. This is why the number of founders of institutions for vocational training has been greatly increased. All economic, professional and social organizations, administrative organs and other independent institutions which are in need of trained personnel may now be founders. These have the right and are even themselves obliged, in a sence, to chose the source from which they will take candidates for vocational training and to adapt the plans and programmes of the institutions for vocational training to their own needs. They also determine other factors, such as the duration of teaching, productive work, the composition of part of the management organs etc. In order to avoid the adoption of to rigid a pattern in following the proposals of the resolution, professional personnel in the new system of vocational training are classified in a few basic categories, so as to enable society to have at least a rough insight into the structure of active workers, according to their qualifications, which will also serve for statistical and other purposes. Economic organizations, public services and other institutions may introduce further categories, that is to say intergrades of qualification, for their own purposes.

It would be impossible to carry the proposals contained in the resolution successfully into practice if it had not been pointed out that certain differences should be made between degrees of professional training and professional education. This means that the economic organizations and all the institutions which employ workers should credit the latter with whatever professional skill they possess in performing work at a given working place, without any question of how this skill has been acquired, while the degree of vocational education should be confirmed by the corresponding authoritative institution. The point is that society, while giving an opportunity to every founder of an institution for vocational training to accommodate it to his own needs, wishes to maintain an indispensable minimum in respect of the volume, level and character of training, and to have knowledge of the types of professional personnel being trained.

In order to carry out this resolution, society, as a whole, must make determined efforts to secure the material resources for the development of such a vide and comprehensive system of professional training, and bills have already been drawn up with a view to regulating this matter.

The establishment of the new system of vocational training based on the resolution is not only of social importance, but also a very comprehensive and complex business. It will be possible to carry it into practice successfully only if all the factors concerned work together in harmony. This refers above all to the economic organizations and public services, to which society has assigned extensive authority in respect of the training of vocational personnel.

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Meetings and Talks

OFFICIAL

Yugoslav Parliamentarians in Tokyo. — The Yugoslav delegations of the Interparliamentary Union headed by Veljko Vlahović, deputy in the People's Assembly, left for Tokyo on September 23 to attend the regular annual session of the Interparliamentary Union. After Japan, the Yugoslav parliamentary delegation will visit Indonesia and Ceylon.

Session of the International Atomic Agency. — The forth regular session of the General Assembly of the International Agency for Atomic Energy was opened in Vienna on September 20. The Yugoslav delegation attending the session is headed by Slobodan Nakićenović, engineer and secretary of the Federal Commission for Nuclear Energy.

TRADE UNIONS

Svetozar Vukmanović in Africa. — Svetozar Vukmanović-Tempo, President of the Central Council of the Yugoslav Trade Unions, left for Morocco and Ghana on September 18 to continue and strengthen co-operation between the Federation of Yugoslav Trade Unions, the Labour Union of Morocco and the Congress of the Trade Unions of Ghana.

Guest of Italian Trade Unions. — Borivoje Romić, secretary of the Central Council of the Federation of Yugoslav Trade Unions, has been staying in Rome since September 21, as guest of the General Labour Confederation of Italy.

Educationalists from Morocco. — A delegation of educationalists of Morocco visited Yugoslavia from September 12 to September 27, as guest of the Union of Yugoslav Educationalists and Scientists. The Morocco delegation inspected a number of schools, educational institutions, and economic organizations, and discussed current questions concerning education.

Visit to Greece. — A group of ten trade union and workers' representatives from all parts of Yugoslavia stayed in Athens from September 11 to 22 as guests of the General Labour Confederation of Greece. The visit of the Yugoslav representatives was organized within the framework of the exchange of trade union members between Greece and Yugoslavia for their mutual acquaintance with the life and work in their countries.

MISCELLANEOUS

Delegation of Tunisian Women. — A delegation of the National Union of Women of Tunisia, at the invitation of the Federation of Women's Associations of Yugoslavia, stayed in this country from September 15 to September 25, to get acquainted with the role of the Federation of Women's Associations in advancing the social and economic conditions and the level of education of the women in Yugoslavia.

Congress of Radiologists. — The Fourth Congress of Yugoslav Radiologists and Experts in Nuclear Medicine, which was held in Skopje towards the middle of September, was attended by experts from West Germany, France, Bulgaria and Holland. The Yugoslav and foreign experts discussed current problems in the field of radiology and protection against ionizing radiation.

Consultation at Sveti Stefan. — A consultation attended by Yugoslav and Polish experts, dealing with the technology of nuclear raw materials and economical production of uranium from minerals, was held at Sveti Stefan, on the South Adriatic, from September 13 to September 17.

Negotiations and Agreements

ECONOMY

Minčev in USA. — The Yugoslav delegation attending the annual meeting of the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, headed by Nikola Minčev, State Secretary for Finances, left for the United States on September 17.

Economic Co-Operation with Syria. — Mr. Hosni el Shavaf, Minister of Trade of the Syrian Province of the UAR stayed in Yugoslavia from September 17 to 20, as guest of Sergej Krajger, Member of the Federal Executive Council and President of the Yugoslav Foreign Trade Committee. During his visit, matters concerning the development of economic co-operation between Yugoslavia and the UAR were discussed.

Economic Co-Operation between Poland and Yugoslavia. — Mr. Trompčinski, Minister of Foreign Trade of Poland, stayed in Yugoslavia in the second half of September, as guest of the Federal Executive Council. During his stay, the Polish minister had talks with Mr. Krajger, and with the Polish Ambassador in Belgrade, on questions concerning the promotion of economic co-operation between Poland and Yugoslavia, and the prospects of concluding new economic arrangements.

Economic Talks with Moroccan Minister. — Mr. Dris Slau, Minister of Trade, Industry and Merchant Marine of Morocco, stayed in Yugoslavia from September 10 to 16 as guest of Mr. Krajger, with whom he discussed prospects of economic co-operation. Mr. Dris Slau visited several enterprises in Yugoslavia.

Visit of Egyptian Minister. — Mr. Musa Araf, Minister of Public Works of the Egyptian Province of the UAR, who arrived in Belgrade on September 23, discussed with Slavko Komar, Member of the Federal Executive Council, the economic co-operation achieved hitherto between the two countries, and the possibility of the participation of Yugoslav enterprises in the building of capital projects, in general, and of hydrotechnical, irrigation projects, in particular.

USA Loan. — The agreement on a loan of 23 million dollars to Yugoslavia was signed by Mr. Vens Brand, Director General of the USA Funds for Economic Development, and Hasan Brkić, Member of the Federal Executive Council, in Belgrade, on September 23.

Negotiations with Benelux Countries. — The trade negotiations within the framework of the Mixed Commission stipulated by the Trade Agreement of 1958 between Yugoslavia and the Benelux countries (Belgium, Holland and Luxemburg) began in Belgrade on September 15.

Trade Negotiations between Ghana and Yugoslavia. — Prospects of the development of the exchange of goods between Ghana and Yugoslavia were discussed by Mr. Apetengom, President of the Chamber of Commerce of Ghana, and Ljubo Babić, President of the Federal Chamber of Foreign Trade of Yugoslavia, in Belgrade on September 21.

Yugoslav-British Economic Co-Operation. — A delegation of the London Board of Trade, including fifteen representatives of British firms of the highest standing, headed by Mr. G. R. Brown, President of the Board's Anglo-Yugoslav Section, stayed in Yugoslavia from September 13 to 24. The delegates inspected several industrial plants and discussed with the leaders of Yugoslav economic institutions the outlook for trading with British firms, and the possibility of concluding economic arrangements.

SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL CO-OPERATION

Yugoslav-Polish Protocol. — A protocol on scientific and technical co-operation between Yugoslavia and Poland in 1961, which foresees extensive co-operation and exchange of personnel in the industry, agriculture, building trade and in various institutes, was signed in Warsaw on September 26.

News in Brief

ECONOMY

New Naphtha Plant. — The Bosanski Brod Naphtha Refinery has put in operation a new "pipe steel" crude naphtha refining plant, which renders it possible to increase the Refinery's naphtha output from 350,000 to 1,000,000 tons per annum.

Business with Foreign Markets. — Six Yugoslav enterprises have concluded contracts to the value of more than 18 million dollars in a number of African and Asian countries. Major works will be executed in India, including the building of gas lines and of a big coking plant, while several power generating industrial plants will be set up in Ghana, Iran, the UAR and Iraq.

Metallurgy. — In the period from 1961 to 1965 the production of copper and zinc in Yugoslavia will be more than doubled, while that of lead will increase by 50 per cent. In 1965 Yugoslavia will produce 75,000 tons of copper, i.e., 45,000 tons more than in 1959.

Geological Prospecting. — 7.5 milliard dinars will be spent in Yugoslavia on geological prospecting this year, for the purpose of enlarging the raw material bases for the needs of the Yugoslav ferrous metallurgy as well as for the industries of naphtha, gas, non-ferrous metals and fireproof materials.

Aluminium. — According to the estimates of UNO experts Yugoslavia has favourable conditions for the development of the aluminium industry, on account of her large reserves of bauxite. Those established so far amount to 160 million tons of the total bauxite reserves of the world, so that Yugoslavia holds the sixth place in these reserves.

Machine Construction. — The Yugoslav machine industry exports to the USSR, India, the UAR, Turkey, the Lebanon, Greece and Poland. This year's export to these countries will be to the value of about 11 milliard dinars.

Growth of Economic Organizations. — From 1955 to 1959 a total 9,443 new enterprises were formed: 2,709 trade enterprises (the greatest number), 1,791 catering establishments, 1,295 handicraft, 897 minor industrial, 333 farming and 330 building enterprises, and 284 communal services.

New Paper Mill. — A new paper mill has been put into operation in Bačka with an annual production capacity of 11,000 tons of paper and 6,000 tons of woodpulp.

New Transformer. — The first stage of the erection of a big transformer at Kruševac in Serbia, which will be the largest in Yugoslavia, has been completed. The 110 KW installations will be put in operation shortly, while those of 220 KW will follow on the completion of the whole work.

New Hydroelectric Power Station. — The work on the first part of the biggest tunnel for the future "Riječina" Hydroelectric power Station near Rijeka, which will generate 200 million kilowatt hours of electric power yearly, has been terminated.

Sugar. — Sugar-beet processing in the Yugoslav sugar factories began a few days ago. The output will total 250,000 tons of sugar, which is sufficient to cover the needs of the domestic market. In 1955 117,000 tons of sugar were produced, while the output 235,000 tons in 1957, and 246,000 tons last year.

Sowing-time. — The preparations for sowing in Vojvodina, the great cereal-growing region of Yugoslavia, have been made. The areas to be sown cover 500,000 hectares, of 300,000 will be sown with rich crop yielding wheat, which is 100,000 hectares more than last autumn.

River Fleet. — In the first six months of this year the ships of the Yugoslav River Navigation transported 2,354,000 tons of goods, that is to say 273,000 tons more than in the same period last year. By the end of the year this transport will have reached nearly 5 million tons.

Merchant Navy. — The Yugoslav Merchant Navy will launch new vessels to the amount of about 100,000 gross registered tons by the end of this year, so that the total tonnage will be increased to more than 600,000.

EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Foreign Students. — In the last school-year 359 foreign students attended Yugoslav Universities, and 46 specialized in post-graduate courses. The Yugoslav Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries last year granted scholarships to 133 students from Algeria, Ethiopia, Iraq, the Sudan, Ghana, Togoland, Jordan, the UAR, Burma, Kenya, and other countries.

Scholarships Granted to Students from Yemen. — A group of 20 young students from Yemen, with scholarships granted by the Yugoslav Government, have come to Yugoslavia this autumn to study in various vocational and technical schools and universities.

Archaeological Discoveries. — In the Yugoslav town of Niš in East Serbia, where the capital of the Roman Emperor Constantine was situated, valuable archaeological remains have recently been discovered, including more than 200 tombs from the late antique period, a bronze head of the Emperor Constantine, and parts of the Roman Road, which led through Niš, the ancient town of Naisus.

Films. — More than 50 Yugoslav feature films and documentaries were sold to Latin American countries. The largest number (10 feature films and 15 documentaries) went to Chile, while Argentine and Peru took 24 feature films.

MISCELLANEOUS

Earnings of Workers. — In the first seven months of this year the monthly earnings of the workers and employees in factories and mines increased by 25 per cent in Yugoslavia, thanks to the rapid increase in industrial production, which amounted to 17 per cent, as against the same period last year, with a simultaneous increase of 8 per cent in working productivity.

Food Consumption. — In 1959 about 200 million kilos of flour less than seven years before was consumed in Yugoslavia, which means an 11 kilo per capita reduction in comparison to 1952. At the same time the per capita consumption of vegetables increased from 96.6 kilos in 1952 to 132 kilos last year, while

that of fruit preserves was doubled. The per capita consumption of milk and milk products increased by nearly 40 kilos, of sugar from 8 to 13.8 and of meat from 19.3 to 26.7 kilos.

State of Population. — According to Yugoslavia's Statistical Year Book for 1960, the number of population was increased by 18,667 in June 30 of this year. In 1939 Yugoslavia had about 15,600,000 inhabitants and in 1953 nearly 17,000,000. Judging by the rise of recent years, the number of inhabitants will amount to more than 20,000,000 toward the middle of 1966.

Economic Co-Operation with East European Countries. — Exchange of goods between Yugoslavia and the East European countries has recorded a steady growth. Export from Yugoslavia to the USSR, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria and the Democratic Republic of Germany reached the value of 46.9 milliard dinars last year, i.e., 15.9 milliard dinars more than in 1957. The imports from the countries amounted to 50.6 milliard dinars in 1959, or 8.2 milliard dinars more than two years ago. The most important place in Yugoslav exports to East European markets is held by rolled iron and steel products, welded and seamless pipes, welding electrodes, lead, rolled non-ferrous products and cables.

International youth and student seminar. — The International Seminar on "Peace, Struggle against Colonialism and Assistance to Under-Developed Countries", organized by the People's Youth Organization and the Students Association of Yugoslavia, was held in Dubrovnik from September 5 to September 12. It was attended by the representatives of 52 organizations forty-eight national student organizations and unions and four international youth and student organizations from Algeria, Argentine, Behrein, Ceylon, Columbia, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Denmark, Ecuador, El Salvador, the Federal Republic of Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Holland, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Israel, Italy, Morocco, Mexico, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Panama, Palestine, Poland, the Dominican Republic, Senegal, Tunisia, UAR, Uruguay, USA and Zanzibar. Representatives of the World Federation of Democratic Youth Organizations, the World Parliament of Youth, the International Students Associations and the Co-ordination Secretariat of the National Students' Unions also attended, the seminar.

Political Diary

September 19 — The Budgetary Board of the Federal People's Assembly opened the debate on the Financial Report for 1959.

September 22 — President Tito made a speech at the United Nations General Assembly in New York.

September 26 — The Fourth Congress of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Montenegro, which was attended by 486 delegates and greeted by Aleksandar Ranković, Secretary General of the Federal Board of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia, in the name of the Federal Board, was opened in Titograd on September 26. A report on current questions concerning further social and economic development in Montenegro and on the task of the Socialist Alliance, was submitted by Blažo Jovanović, President of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Montenegro.

Diplomatic Diary

September 19 — Edvard Kardelj, Vice-President of the Federal Executive Council Received Mr. Andrej Kapelen, Minister of Works and Communal Affairs of Norway.

September 21 — By decree of Edvard Kardelj, Vice-President of the Federal Executive Council, acting for the President of Republic, Miloš Lašović, Minister Plenipotentiary in the Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, was appointed Ambassador of Yugoslavia to Tunisia.

September 26 — Edvard Kardelj, Vice-President of the Federal Executive Council, received Marcel Gosse, the newly appointed Ambassador of Belgium to Yugoslavia, who presented his letters of credence.

September 26 — Edvard Kardelj, Vice-President of the Federal Executive Council, received Anaklet Ljos, the newly appointed Ambassador of Argentina to Yugoslavia, who presented his credentials.

Our New Contributor

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